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The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

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S R C BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETS

Report of Special Meeting

Important business was transacted and the work of the Southern Regional Council was greatly facilitated by a special meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council in Atlanta on April 28. The meeting was called by Dr. Howard W. Odum, President of the Council. The Board meeting was preceded by a meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee formulated a number of recommendations for presentation to the Board. The major actions taken by the Board are summarized below.

Standing Committees

Under the authority granted by Article V, Section 4, of the Council by-laws, the Board created the following standing committees: Committee on Membership, Committee on Finance, Committee on Public Relations, Committee on Publications, and Committee on Fellows. The Chairman was instructed to appoint the committees. The complete personnel of the committees will be published in the next issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

Admission of New Members

Since the by-laws provide that members can be elected only by the members or by the Board of Directors, and since the Board of Directors, at its meeting just after the charter meeting in February, did not complete the details of a machinery for admitting new members in the intervals between meetings, the Board passed the following resolution defining the duties of the Committee on Membership: "The Committee on Membership shall have general supervision over questions pertaining to the election of members, shall receive nominations and requests for membership, and shall authorize the Executive Director or the Secretary to extend an invitation to membership to such persons as the Committee may approve, all such elections being subject to confirmation at the next meeting of members or of the Board of Directors." The Council is now able to enlarge its membership by bringing in some of the numerous persons who have been nominated by other members or who have requested the privilege of membership. The Committee on Membership will bring to the annual meeting in October some recommendations on the question of limited versus unlimited membership.

New Directors

The Board elected directors to fill three vacancies occasioned by the election of Dr. Odum to the presidency, the inability of one member to serve, and the death of Dr. J. R. E. Lee. It also voted to enlarge its membership in order to give better representation to several states. New directors who have already accepted election are: Charles W. Anderson, Jr., attorney and member of the Kentucky legislature, Louisville; O. D. Duncan, Department of Sociology and Rural Life, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater; Z. Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville; Walter J. Matherly, Dean of the School of Business Administration, University of Florida, Gainesville; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Atlanta; N. C. Newbold, Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh; and Thomas S. Staples, Dean of Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.

Proposed Changes in the By-Laws

The Board voted to recommend to the members of the Council that they amend the by-laws so as to permit the Executive Director and the Associate Executive Director to be members of the Executive Committee. At present the executives cannot be members of the Executive Committee. Mr. Leonard Haas pointed out that their presence is essential to the functioning of the Executive Committee and that it is in keeping with common practice and in the interest of efficiency for them to be members of the Committee. He also pointed out that the laws governing corporations prohibit any officer or employee from voting on matters affecting his own personal interests.

At present the Executive Committee has eleven members, seven elected and four ex-officio, and a quorum must consist of four of the seven elected members. Hence it is possible to have seven persons present, three elected and four ex-officio, and

(*Continued on Page* 3)

RESOLUTIONS

At its meeting in Atlanta on April 28, 1944, *the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council unanimously adopted the following resolutions and voted that they be made public immediately.*

1. The Race Issue in Politics

In the heat of current political campaigns in various parts of the South, the race issue has been raised by certain candidates or by their promoters. Vicious rumors have been circulated, and the spurious issues of "white supremacy," "social equality," and the like have been dragged forth in an attempt to arouse the passions and prejudices of voters.

We condemn all such tactics as unfair and destructive of the spirit of unity and cooperation which we need now as never before, and we appeal to all good citizens to consider carefully whether those persons who use such tactics are worthy of public trust.

2. The White Primary

The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that the exclusion of Negroes from the Texas Democratic primaries is a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Court has simply recognized the fact that primaries are effective instruments of government, and that the exclusion of the Negro voters from Democratic primaries in some of the Southern states is equivalent to denying them the right to vote on account of race.

This decision has far-reaching consequences, and we appeal to the people of the South to make these consequences positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive.

We deplore the statements of political leaders and others indicating a determination to disregard or nullify the decision of the Supreme Court, and we call on all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and the spirit of the Court's decision. Let us all, white and Negro, be calm and wise. Let us strive to serve the ends of justice and good government for all of the people of the South.

To allow Negro citizens to participate in the government under which they live

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Howard W. Odum ..... *President*
P. B. Young ..... *Vice-President*
Homer P. Rainey ..... *Vice-President*
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To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

Most of us have had the experience of dreading a trip to the dentist, or an operation which we know has to come, or an honest coming-to-grips with some personal moral problem. We worry, we procrastinate, we torment ourselves with terrible forebodings. Finally we get the thing over with in one way or another, and when we see that we are going to pull through all right, we say, "It wasn't so bad after all. What was I afraid of?"

Too many white Southerners are still in the worrying stage in their reaction to certain social issues which need to be met. Take the question of Negro voting in Democratic primaries, for example. They postpone it, they evade it, and when they begin to see that perhaps the thing is bound to come they work themselves into a frenzy by imagining that the whole social order is about to crumble. Most likely their fears are groundless, for they are based upon the very shaky assumptions that (1) every Negro of voting age will immediately rush to the ballot box and that (2) Negroes will vote as a solid racial bloc.

There is absolutely no evidence that Negroes will make a mass march on the ballot box. Fortunately or unfortunately, they have that same inertia and indifference toward political participation which white people have. A recent study in Virginia showed that although 32,000 Negroes paid their poll taxes in 1943, about 13,000 of them did not even bother to register. In Atlanta, in spite of the Georgia law which lowered the voting age to 18 (no poll tax is required until the age of 21) and in spite of an intensive campaign by Negro organizations to increase the registration of Negroes, the Fulton County Registrar announced at the close of registration that Negroes made up about 7 per cent of the total number of registered voters. Negroes form 31 per cent of the population of Atlanta. Whatever happens in this matter of Negro voting, we can be quite certain that it is not going to be a sudden "revolution" in the political habits of Negroes in the South.

Neither is there any good evidence that Negroes will vote as a solid bloc. White people are likely to overestimate the extent of Negro unity, perhaps because they feel that if *they* were in the Negroes' shoes they would stick together. As a matter of fact, Negroes divide upon political and other issues in much the same way as white people do. The Negro banker is likely to have more in common with the white banker than with the Negro janitor. The nearest the Negro will come to a solid race front will be to show a tendency in the long run to support his "friends" and to defeat his "enemies," but, like other voters, he will frequently have difficulty in deciding who is "friend" and who is "enemy."

At any rate, we shall find that after the dust has settled the earth remains. We shall find that the right to vote, whether that right is exercised to the fullest or not, gives a tremendous boost to the morale and civic responsibility of the Negro. We shall find that the surest way to rid the South of demagoguery and to take the "race issue" out of politics is to take the Negro voter into the fold and train him to use the ballot intelligently. And no doubt we shall say—unless we are so enamored of our worries that we refuse to part with them—"It wasn't so bad after all. What were we afraid of?"

The FEPC and Negro Manpower

The Region VII Office of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has satisfactorily adjusted several cases which involved discrimination in training against Negroes. Two of those cases arose in Jacksonville, Florida, where the training facilities for Negroes were not comparable to those for whites, and these cases were adjusted by an arrangement that a training school for Negroes which will be adequate to accommodate 600 students will be established immediately in that city.

The national policy with respect to training is set forth in Executive Order No. 9346, in part, as follows:

> . . . The Committee (FEPC) shall also recommend to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

As a result of recommendations made by the committee, on August 2, 1943, an Operating Agreement was entered into between FEPC and WMC. There it is provided:

> Procedures shall be established to assure that equal training facilities and opportunities are available to all trainees and prospective trainees without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. Special procedures shall be established where, because of State or local laws, special training facilities are required for trainees solely because of race.

Thereafter, on September 3, 1943, the WMC issued an instruction to all its regional offices in which it is provided that such offices "shall take steps to have the discriminatory features" removed from training programs. Since, however, State laws generally require separate facilities for education in this region, it has been necessary for the Regional WMC and Regional FEPC to take this fact into account in devising procedures by which the national policy may be effectuated.

The Regional WMC has agreed that, as a matter of policy, it will "make every effort to provide training courses for qualified Negro applicants in all occupations for which training is being given (to whites)." If such facilities are absent, qualified Negro applicants are to be informed by the United States Employment Service offices to which they apply that immediate efforts will be made to provide training. Moreover, under no conditions are qualified Negro applicants to be regarded or classified as ineligible because of a present lack of training facilities since, upon receiving information from a USES office that training facilities are inadequate in a particular area, the Regional WMC will take immediate steps to provide training courses for all qualified applicants.

The question naturally arises as to what extent facilities must be provided for Negroes in courses similar to those being given to whites, in order to assure that discrimination in training is not present in an area where separate facilities are required by law. The WMC has determined that the *minimum* facilities which must be provided for Negro trainees shall bear the same ratio to the total number of Negro eligibles. Thus, in an instance where there are 80 white and 30 Negro eligibles for training, and facilities have been provided for 40 whites, or one-half of the total eligibles, at least one-half of the Negro eligibles must be provided with similar training facilities. This is not to be construed, however, as the test by which to determine the maximum number of Negroes to be trained. On the contrary, it is the viewpoint of both the Regional WMC and the Regional FEPC that qualified applicants of all races should be trained to the maximum extent that funds are available and that the above test should serve only as a guide below which the training of Negroes shall not fall.

Negro leaders, teachers, and those in charge of vocational training facilities for Negroes should make sure that eligible Negroes take all necessary steps to receive training for war work. In the event that they are unsuccessful, and feel that they have been discriminated against because of their race in either their efforts to secure training or to secure employment after being trained, they may make their complaints to the Regional FEPC at Rooms 524-7 Ten Forsyth Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Directors' Meeting

(*Continued from Page* 1)

still not have a quorum. The Board voted to recommend a change in the by-laws so as to permit any six members of the Committee to constitute a quorum. The by-laws can be amended only by members, and these proposed amendments will be submitted to the annual meeting of members in October.

Two Statements

Feeling that the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case and the current efforts of certain political candidates to stir up racial issues presented a challenge to the Council, the Executive Committee approved two resolutions and recommended their passage by the Board. The Board unanimously adopted the statements and voted to give them immediate publicity. The statements are reprinted on the front page of this issue. They were given rather wide publicity in Southern newspapers, were published in the *New York Times* of April 30, and were mentioned in the May 15 issue of *Life*.

Cooperating Organizations

The by-laws provide that organizations having aims similar to those of the Council may become affiliates of the Council on such conditions as the Board may prescribe. It was pointed out in the discussion that since the structure of the Council is based on individual membership, affiliation of other organizations in the technical sense would involve legal and structural problems which could be met only by amending the charter of the Council. The Board therefore adopted the following resolution: "That the relation between the Southern Regional Council and all state and local organizations having aims and purposes similar to those of the council be informal and cooperative, the details to be worked out by the two Executive Directors." The Executive Directors have begun to compile a list of cooperating organizations.

Directors Present

Directors present were: *Florida:* Mrs. Henry Havens, G. D. Rogers; *Georgia:* L. D. Milton, Josephine Wilkins, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Ryland Knight, T. James McNamara, R. L. Russell, Forrester B. Washington, Philip Shulhafer, Guy B. Johnson, Leonard Haas, Benjamin E. Mays, Ira DeA. Reid; *Kentucky:* E. A. McDowell; *Louisiana:* A. W. Dent, Ernest Delpit; *North Carolina:* Howard W. Odum, Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Clark Foreman, John H. Wheeler; *Tennessee:* Charles S. Johnson, James L. Robb; *Virginia:* Wilson M. Brown, Gordon B. Hancock, Louis I. Jaffe, Luther P. Jackson, J. Garland Pollard, Jr.

The anti-poll tax bill is apparently dead for the present session of Congress. After a move to invoke cloture had been defeated by a vote of 44 to 36, the Senate shelved the bill.

Southern Baptists and the Negro

At the recent meeting of Southern Baptists in Atlanta, the Social Service Commission of the Convention recommended that Baptist preachers and churches work for the "defense and protection of the civil rights" of Negroes.

The recommendations of the Social Service Commission stated:

"In view of the increasing acuteness of the race problem within the nation, and especially in the South, and the danger which crouches at our doors that we shall be guilty of un-Christian attitudes and actions, we recommend that the convention reaffirm and lay upon the hearts of the Baptists of the South the resolutions adopted at the 1941 convention:

"1. That we reaffirm our deep and abiding interest in the welfare of all races of mankind, and particularly our interest in the welfare and advancement of the Negro race, which lives in our midst to the number of some 10 or 11 millions.

"2. That this convention would urge the pastors and churches affiliated with the convention, and all our Baptist people, to cultivate and maintain the finest Christian spirit and attitude toward the Negro race, to do everything possible for the welfare of the race, both economic and religious, and for the defense and protection of all civil rights of the race."

Concerning the Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case, the Commission's report said: "The issue will be between establishing a qualification for suffrage that will apply to white and colored alike and the invention of some nullifying device that will deprive an otherwise qualified Negro from voting because he is a Negro. What will be the course of Christian men and women? . . . Let it be urged again that we who are Christ's must exercise the utmost care to find the Christian thing to say and the Christian thing to do. We cannot achieve good by injustice."

Dr. J. B. Lawrence, Executive Secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Board, in an address before the Baptist assembly, said: "Southern Baptists have a responsibility to the Negro which can be met only by knowing their needs as a race and meeting these needs with a well devised program. No segmental approach to this task will suffice."

Resolutions

(*Continued from Page* 1)

is to give democracy a chance in the South. To deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law. The sooner we recognize these simple facts, the better off we shall be. We can not honestly wage a war for freedom and democracy in foreign lands when we deny to our own Negro citizens the rights and privileges which are justly theirs.

A Southern Business Man's Opinion

Mr. Alexander Fitz Hugh, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, has kindly given his permission to reprint the following excerpts from a letter which he wrote to Dr. Howard W. Odum.—Editors.

I note a growing desire on the part of the people to hear the views of all men who give them the facts.

* * *

I think that one trouble in the South has been that the masses of the people have formed their opinions of the economic and social questions that affect the section chiefly from their local and state leaders who are supplicants for votes. Sometimes what they have gotten from such leaders has been good, but often it has not been good, and I think it is an encouraging sign that the people are beginning to want the facts, which as you recall Jefferson said if you will give them they will make wise decisions, and the truth, which Jesus of Nazareth said will make them free.

* * *

The agitation about discrimination in freight rates is exaggerated, and is largely inconsequential. In all of the discussions of the Southern governors about the industrialization of the South, I have never heard them give consideration to the vital problem, namely: What is going to be the position of the Negro in such a movement? Forty-nine per cent of the population of Mississippi are Negroes, and about thirty-five per cent of the population of Alabama and Georgia are Negroes. The highly developed industries of the North and East have had the advantage of labor of European origin which has had generations of industrial background and experience. When we remember that the experience of the Negroes has been almost entirely agricultural or work in the heavy industries, and the experience of the poorer whites little different, I think it is remarkable that Southern industry has made the progress that it has. The paramount problem in all Southern industry is what place the Negro laborer is going to fill in it rather than the question of freight rates. Industries make freight rates rather than freight rates make industries.

* * *

I find an awakening interest on the part of the people in the problems of the biracial economy, and this is definitely encouraging.

ALEXANDER FITZ HUGH.

The Wellesley School of Community Affairs will be held at Wellesley College from June 29-August 10. Anyone interested should write to Miss Edith R. West, Wellesley College, Massachusetts.

When, under the aegis of the New Deal, REA came to Georgia in May, 1935, only 6,800 Georgia farms had central station electric service. Today more than 70,000 Georgia farms are electrified.

Miss Margaret Fisher Joins SRC Staff

The Southern Regional Council is happy to announce that Miss Margaret Fisher, of the Atlanta regional office of the War Manpower Commission, is joining the staff of the Council on June 1 as Secretary of Public Relations.

By training, experience, and temperament, Miss Fisher is admirably equipped to make a significant contribution to the program of the Council. Following a period of business experience in the field of insurance, she did personnel and management work for a number of years in the Legal Division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. She then went to the War Manpower Commission, where she has done industrial relations work since 1942. There her main task was to develop a regional program for the integration of women and minority groups into industrial employment in the South. This work has not only given her a first-hand acquaintance with industrialists but has brought her into contact with various public and civic groups in the South. She has, for example. helped to secure the cooperation of merchants in arranging evening shopping hours for the convenience of war workers, stimulated women's organizations to set up recreational programs for in-migrants, and encouraged labor groups to broaden the participation of women and colored workers in unions. Thus her wide contacts have given her a first-hand picture of what is going on in the Southeast in industrial and civic life.

In addition to this invaluable experience, Miss Fisher has qualities of personal charm, tact, persistence, and a sense of humor. One of her close friends has described her as "a liberal who has her feet on the ground."

Miss Fisher was born in North Carolina and received her college training at Greensboro Women's College. Gifted musically, she specialized in piano and voice and for several years did concert work as a contralto soloist. Then, as she puts it, "My whole pattern of life changed, for I knew that what I really wanted to do was to give my life to the building of a better South." She has retained her musical interests, however, and she will continue as soloist with the choir at St. Luke's Church in Atlanta, where her lovely contralto voice has been an inspiration to the congregation for the past seven years.

Lieutenant-General William S. Knudsen, War Department Production Chief, said in Nashville, Tennessee, recently, "We are capable of great production, but we have not reached top production yet." He added, "The South has demonstrated its industrial power, and there is no limit to what the South and the whole country can do. What we have done has not been miracles, it has been going to work and doing the job." On the question of America's future in the postwar period, General Knudsen commented, "We mustn't sell the hide until we've shot the bear."

In Kentucky

At a recent meeting sponsored by the Union for Democratic Action and the Louisville Committee of the Kentucky Council on Interracial Cooperation, various civic problems were discussed. Among the recommendations growing out of the meeting were the following:

That downtown stores be asked "to adjust their policy toward Negroes" and encourage instead of discourage Negro patronage.

That more Negroes be represented in the war housing units on the basis of need rather than population.

That the Louisville Railway Company be asked to employ Negroes as operators.

That training facilities be provided for Negro doctors and nurses.

That there be a minimum wage and hour law for domestic workers, and a city-wide educational campaign on domestic service problems.

That "some type of assurance against dismissal after the war be given the Negro who adjusts himself to industry."

That a Negro be named to the Louisville Board of Education.

An Institute of Race Relations

An Institute of Race Relations will be held at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, July 3-21. The Institute will include the following areas of interest: Race and Racial Theories; Racial Aspects of Social Problems; Methods, Techniques and Community Planning; The Role of Personal Religion in Human Relations. Among the lecturers and consultants will be Will W. Alexander, formerly Director of Farm Security Administration, now Co-Director of the Race Relations Division of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and member of the Board of Directors of the SRC; Fred L. Brownlee, General Secretary of the American Missionary Association; Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Ellsworth Faris, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago; Lester Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League; Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of SRC; Otto Klineberg, Professor of Psychology, Columbia University; Z. A. Looby, member of the legal staff of NAACP; Liston Pope, Professor of Social Ethics, Yale University; Arthur Raper, Senior Social Science Analyst, United States Department of Agriculture; Robert Redfield, Dean of Division of Social Science and Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago; Ira De A. Reid, Associate Director, SRC; T. Lynn Smith, Head of Department of Rural Sociology, Louisiana State University; Charles H. Thompson, Dean of Graduate School of Howard University and editor of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, and Louis Wirth, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago.

The Institute is under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, which is a Division of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches. Anyone wishing further information may write to the Institute of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

An Alabama Statement

Just before the recent Democratic primary in Alabama, the following statement, which was signed by 400 leading white citizens, was made public. Judge Louise O. Charlton of Birmingham was influential in obtaining signatures endorsing the statement.

Fellow Citizens of Alabama:

We, the undersigned citizens of Alabama, are proud of the traditions of our great state and of the part that all its people are playing in this war. We are proud of the thousands of Alabama's young men and women who serve in all branches of our armed forces. Our industrial leaders, the working men and women of our state, the vast number of our farmers have a record of war service of which the entire nation can be proud.

American armed forces, among them the finest sons of Alabama, now await the signal for the invasion of fascist Europe. Now more than ever have we Alabamans a stake in keeping our war production in farm and factory uninterrupted. For this reason we view with patriotic alarm any effort to stir up racial strife and hatred among the people of Alabama.

We consider it our sacred obligation to Alabamans in the armed forces and to their fathers and mothers at home to protest the actions of those men and those newspapers which seek to disturb the present peaceful relations between the races, and divert the attention of Alabama from the cause of speedy victory.

It is our conviction that all papers, whether Negro or White, which incite race hatred, constitute a serious threat to Alabama's war production.

We especially deplore the injection of the race issue into Alabama's political campaign. We believe that those who resort to such tactics misjudge the people of Alabama and their devotion to the democratic faith and to the ideal of Christian brotherhood.

In the same patriotic "spirit of neighborliness" as the citizens of Dallas County evidenced in their condemnation of the *Greensboro Watchman*, we call upon patriotic citizens to condemn all efforts now being made by press and radio to arouse or stimulate race and religious hatred and antagonisms among our people, and to strengthen our common effort for a speedy victory and a lasting peace.

The American Council On Race Relations

A new national organization has been formed for the promotion of interracial adjustment and "full democracy." The organization will be known as the American Council on Race Relations, and will seek to develop a well-rounded program of research, popular education, assistance to local community organizations in meeting their interracial problems, and cooperation with other agencies in the interracial field. The officers of the Council will be Clarence E. Pickett, President, Charles H. Houston, Vice-President, Will W. Alexander, Vice-President and Treasurer, and Mrs. Mary Jane Grunsfeld, Secretary. The headquarters of the Council will be in Chicago.